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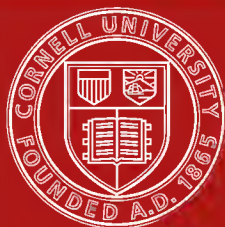
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Thomas Chatterton and the vicar of Templ



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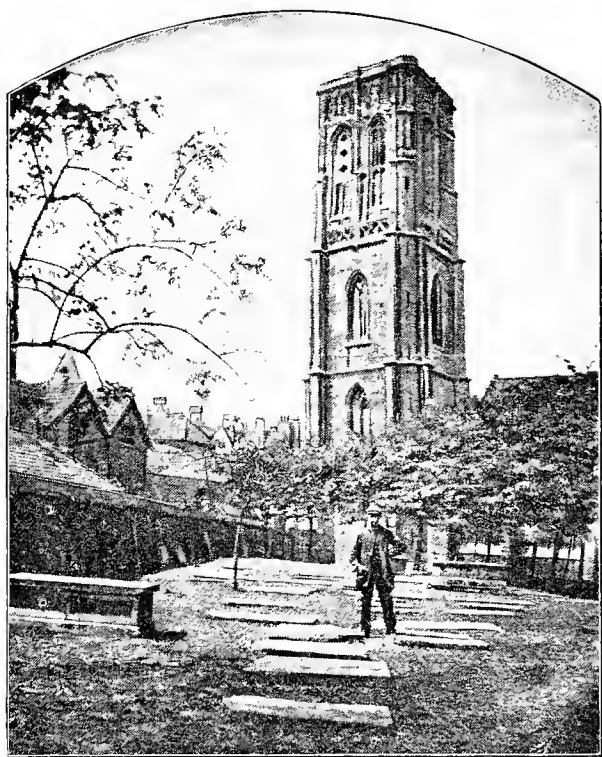
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THOMAS CHATTERTON
AND THE
VICAR OF TEMPLE CHURCH,
BRISTOL

[A.D. 1768-1770.]



TEMPLE TOWER, BRISTOL.

VICAR OF TEMPLE CH
BRISTOL

[A.D. 1768-1770.]

*THE POET'S ACCOUNT OF THE "K
TEMPLARIES CHYRCHE."*

The following pamphlet is based upon a paper which appeared in *The Bristol Times and Mirror* of July 25th, 1887, being the day before the Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society's visit to Bristol, where they held their 39th annual meeting.

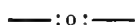
At the head of the article appeared this editorial note:—

For the following interesting paper on Chatterton we are indebted to the Rev. Wm. Hazledine, Vicar of Temple, to whom the original manuscript here printed belongs, and who very kindly placed it at our disposal; and to Mr. William George, the well-known local antiquarian and conscientious student of Chattertoniana, who has at great pains explained and amplified the record, added a glossary, and constructed, from data which he has been at considerable trouble to obtain, a most readable contribution, which would be very acceptable at any time, but is especially so on the eve of the visit to this city of the Somersetshire Archæological Society, whose members to-morrow go to Temple church, and will have an opportunity of seeing the original Chatterton manuscript.

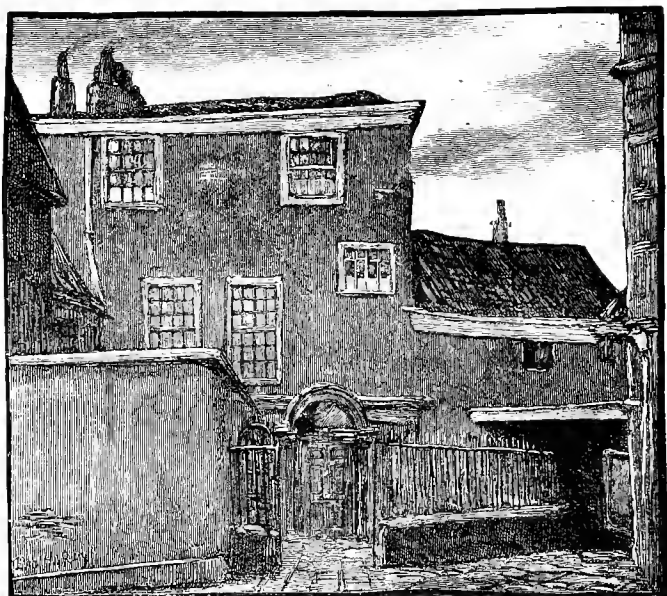
The view of Temple Tower is from a photograph taken in 1872. The wood-cut of the Seal of the Knights Templars is copied from C. G. Addison's History of that Order.

W. G.

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THE OLD VICARAGE, NEAR TEMPLE CHURCH, BRISTOL.

(From a Drawing by Paul Hardy, 1885.)

Thomas Chatterton and the Vicar of Temple Church, Bristol.

[A.D. 1768-1770.]

The Vicar of Temple, during the time Chatterton was producing his spurious Rowley manuscripts in Bristol—1768 to 1770—was the Rev. Alexander Catcott, M.A., with whom, for a short time, the boy-poet was on friendly terms. The first of the Rowley fictions that Chatterton communicated to the public—"a description of the Mayor's first passing over the Old Bridge," built about 1247—appeared in *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* of October the 1st, 1768; just a fortnight after the present Bristol Bridge was opened for foot-passengers. A new and enlarged edition of the Rev. Alexander Catcott's well-known "Treatise on the Deluge" was advertised in the same newspaper of November the 19th, 1768. Between these dates Chatterton was introduced to George Symes Catcott, the pewterer (then in partnership with Henry Burgum), and to William Barrett, the surgeon, who was then gathering materials for his "History of Bristol." Chatterton's sister says, that after those introductions, "his ambition increas'd dayly." It is not known when the Vicar and the poet first became acquainted; but it is assumed to have been soon after his introduction to G. S. Catcott, who was a younger brother of the Vicar, and lived with him at the Temple parsonage, then situated on the north side of "Temple-Church-pavement," and close to the massive tower and the west entrance to that grand old church.

Writing from Bristol, in 1769, to his relative Mr. Stephens, a leather-breeches maker, of Salisbury, Chatterton vauntingly says: "In this city my principal acquaintances are Mr. Barrett, now writing at a vast expence an ancient and modern *History of Bristol*, a task more difficult than cleansing the Augean stable.

Many have attempted, but none succeeded in it; yet will this work, when finished, please not only his fellow-citizens, but all the world; [and] Mr. Catcott, author of that excellent Treatise on the Deluge, and other Pieces, to enumerate which would argue a supposition that you were not acquainted with the literary world. To the studies of these gentlemen I am always admitted, and they are not below asking my advice in any matters of antiquity.”

Chatterton, from his fictitious Rowley store, furnished Barrett with numerous notices of old Bristol churches, which the latter, nineteen years after the poet's death, printed in his “History of Bristol.” Our historian's credulity is to be regretted. However, as “everything derived from young Rowley is in Barrett given with caution, and is as separable from the substance of his account as is one word from another in Johnson's Dictionary,” those who consult his History, which is a store-house of valuable local information, need not be led astray.

Of Chatterton's romantic account of Temple church two manuscripts are extant: one of them is a so-called “original” Rowley document; the other, Chatterton's transcript from it, with thirteen lines of prose and verse added by him. The pretended “original” the poet gave to his new friend, the Vicar of Temple, who, shortly afterwards, presented it to Barrett, who added it to his Rowley store, which, after the historian's death, was given to his friend Dr. Robert Glynn, a zealous Rowleyan, who bequeathed the whole collection to the British Museum. The writing on the “original” in question—a scrap of stained parchment, about five inches square—is now partly illegible.

The transcript was, a few years ago, found in a box of papers relating “to the affairs” of Temple parish, which the Rev. A. Catcott, who died in 1779, bequeathed “to the Vicar of the parish of Temple, for the time being, for ever;” and desired “that each Vicar in his turn would preserve them in safety for his successors.”⁽¹⁾ (Will of Rev. A. Catcott). When or from whom the Vicar obtained the manuscript found in his box is not known. Not, it would appear, from Chatterton himself; for G.S. Catcott wrote to Dean Milles, April 8th, 1779: — “With regard to my brother, I do assure you Chatterton never gave him anything, either in prose or verse, except the Fragment of a Sermon and the Account of Temple Church: the latter was an original.” Nothing more of the history of Chatterton's transcript

(1) If every future incumbent of Temple should prove like the present Vicar, its parish muniments will be preserved for many centuries.

of this "original" can be gleaned than what has been given above. However, after lying in the Vicar's box for more than a century, Chatterton's account of Temple church—or, more correctly, of its rebuilding—is now for the first time printed *verbatim et literatim* from the poet's own manuscript. It is written on both sides of half a sheet of foolscap, which has been recently placed between two sheets of glass and framed, so that both front and back may be read. Though somewhat worn at the folds and the edges frayed, half of one word only is torn off. After these proper precautions were taken for its preservation, it was placed in Temple vestry; where, let us hope, it will long remain. Bristolians who are interested in the marvellous Colston boy will be gratified with what has been done; for it is the only account of a Bristol church, in Chatterton's handwriting, that has not been acquired by the British Museum.

The reputed "original" Rowley manuscript on parchment, which, as previously mentioned, the Vicar of Temple gave to Barrett, the latter transcribed and printed in his "History of Bristol" (*Of the Church and Parish of Temple*, p. 542). On collating what Barrett has printed from his "original" with Chatterton's copy of the same document, numerous orthographical and several verbal differences were found; and fifty of Chatterton's initial capitals—to the use of which, as remarked by Professor Skeat, he was singularly addicted—appear in Barrett in small roman type.

Of Chatterton's Bristol acquaintances, the Vicar of Temple was the most highly cultured. The Rev. W. Jones, of Nayland, testifies to his Hebrew scholarship ("Memoirs of Bishop Horne," 1795, p. 23); and John Wesley, who often preached in Temple church, to his eminent piety ("Journal," March 18, 1781). Dr. Buckland and Dean Conybeare quote his "Treatise on the Deluge" with approval; while Sir Charles Lyell and the *Edinburgh Review* admit that his literary labours promoted the progress of geological inquiry.

Before the end of 1769, and when Chatterton was 17 years of age, the Vicar and the wayward poet came into collision. The former having done Chatterton "the honour to criticise" his trifles, the young satirist, in an "effort of poetical vengeance," addressed a long rhyming "Epistle" to his reverend censor, in which he freely satirized the "Treatise on the Deluge" and its author. The "Epistle," which is dated December 6th, 1769, exemplifies the truth of Chatterton's assertion in "Kew Gardens," where he says of himself:

When raving in the lunacy of ink,
I catch my pen and publish what I think.

By the unscrupulous ridicule of the "Epistle," the friendly intercourse that had subsisted between the Vicar and the erratic poet was brought to an abrupt conclusion. The Vicar's amiable character was not unnoticed or unrecorded by Chatterton. A few months before he was buried by strangers, in a pauper's grave in London, he wrote of the "Treatise" and its author :

If Catcott's flimsy system can't be proved,
Let it alone, for Catcott's much beloved.

[Chatterton's own copy of the "Treatise," with his irreverent "Epistle" to its author in the poet's autograph, was about twenty years ago bought at a little village public-house near Oxford. For the pleasure of inspecting this Chatterton relic the present writer is indebted to Mr. F. Madan, of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, who had previously informed him that this interesting volume was contained in that library.]

On the top of the Temple manuscript is this note, in the Rev. A. Catcott's handwriting :—

"N.B.—The following Account was copied from two antient writings found (with many others) in an old chest in Redcliff Church."

No doubt as to the character of the sources from which the "Account" is professedly derived being here expressed, it is assumed the Vicar wrote the above shortly after the paper came into his possession, for as soon as the authenticity of the Rowley manuscripts became the subject of literary discussion, the Vicar at once pronounced them to be spurious. Indeed, he was the only one of Chatterton's Bristol acquaintances who formed a true estimate of the Colston boy's creative powers. On this subject we produce some interesting information, not contained in any life of Chatterton, and which we copied from G. S. Catcott's own transcripts of the letters about to be quoted.

Dean Milles, president of the Antiquarian Society, having heard that the Vicar "never believed in Rowley," and "used frequently to say that Chatterton was equal to anything," wrote to G. S. Catcott to learn "more authentically what his (brother's) thoughts were about" the poet. Catcott replied, Sept. 11th, 1780 :— "The information you received concerning my late brother's sentiments was strictly true. I have frequently heard him say he was capable of writing anything attributed to Rowley, and that he was, upon the whole, the most extraordinary genius he ever met with." In a subsequent letter he told the same correspondent :—"I once recollect to have heard him (his brother) say, he did not believe there were any papers of the poetical or historical kind in Mr. Canynge's chest" (*i.e.*, the chest

in the muniment-room above the north porch of Redcliff church, which became a very purse of Fortunatus to Chatterton, wherein he professedly found the subjects of which he loved to write, and his Bristol patrons loved to read). The astonishment of the pewterer, when he heard his brother enunciate his "sentiments," must have been as great as that of the Dean, when he read them—for both were persistent Rowleyans. The pewterer vainly laboured for years to prove Chatterton incapable of writing those Rowleyan pieces in prose and verse, which, we now know, had no other origin than his fertile brain: and the Dean published a large quarto edition of the "Rowley Poems," with copious notes and a defence of their antiquity. His notes Professor Skeat pronounces to be "the most surprising trash . . . that has ever perhaps been penned." Dean Milles will long be remembered by the contemptuous phrase in which, for calumniating Chatterton, he was gibbeted by Coleridge, as "An owl mangling a poor dead nightingale."

Chatterton's prose writings on the history and antiquities of Bristol contain no *new* facts relating to it. They should be read as part of his wonderful Rowley romance—for it is certain that the manuscripts, whether in prose or verse, exhibited by him as "originals," or as literal transcripts from the "Rowley" parchments, were the work of no human being but himself. Although he produced no new fact in the history of his native city, he bequeathed her a precious literary inheritance. And now "St. Mary Redcliff is not more a masterpiece of Bristol architecture than is Chatterton the highest representative of the personal genius of that place; and Redcliff is not more superior to parish churches in general than is the boy-poet proudly eminent above all but the greater poets of England." (2)

Those who are still disposed to condemn Chatterton for his literary masquerading must not forget that literary masquerading was the fashion of the day—even Horace Walpole played at the game—and that Chatterton died before he was eighteen—a mere lad, wayward and erring, but whose fragment of a life was not devoid of genuine traits of personal worth. In the lines uttered by one of the persons of his imagination may we not suppose Chatterton himself appeals to his unrelenting critics:—

Let all my faults be buried in the grave;
All obloquies be rotted with my dust;
Let him first carpen that no faults can have;
'Tis past man's nature to be always just. (3.)

(2) Mr. John Taylor, in "The Dictionary of Bristol."

(3) The Parliament of Sprites (modernised).

To most of his Rowley poems Chatterton added copious notes explaining the spurious old English in which he masked them; but his Rowleyan pieces in prose, which fill more than a hundred pages of Southey and Cottle's edition of his works, are without these necessary explanations. Those given below are from Chatterton's glossary to his poems, and from other sources given within parentheses.

"KNIGHTES TEMPLARIES CHYRCHIE.

"Tys uncouth (4) whanne thys Chyrche was fyrste ybuilden Natheles (5) I reede yn the Bochord (6) of the Revestrie (7) that ynne 1271 Syx womenne in Easter wake dyd doe pennaunce for Ewbrice (8), goeynge from Seyente Paulles Cresse (9) to the Newe Chyrche of Templarres—Certis (10) ys the Evente known howgates ytt beecame crouched (11) Gremordei, a Lumbard dyd make greete boaste that hee woulde ybuildenne a Chyrche moe freme thanne anie in Brystowe. The Knyghtes Templars eftsoons (12) dyd hem emploie, Gnoffeyngelie despysinge the Argues of Johannes a Brixter, a Brystowe Manne borne, who the same whoulde have ybuylden on the Hylle cleped (13) Celnil Hylle and sythence (14) Pill-Hylle (15), alleageyngne therefore that the Ryver han (16) formerlie ranne

(4) "Uncouth;" unknown (Chatterton).

(5) "Natheles;" nevertheless (Bailey's "Dictionary"). Kersey's and Bayley's Dictionaries "were the books to which Chatterton trusted [for his old words] from first to last...If we take Rowley to be a mere pseudonym for Kersey or Bailey, we shall hardly ever err" (Professor Skeat).

(6) "Bochord;" from Bailey's "*Bock-Hord*, a place where books, writings, &c., are kept."

(7) "Revestrie;" the vestry.

(8) "Ewbrice;" adultery (Chatterton).

(9) Temple Cross, otherwise Stallage cross, formerly in Temple-street? The cross was removed late in the last century. G. S. Catcott published a newspaper lamentation on its loss, for it was the last of the many crosses which once adorned his native city.

(10) "Certes;" certainly (Bailey).

(11) "Howgates ytt beecame crouched;" how it became crooked.

(12) "Eftsoons;" quickly (Chatterton).

(13) "Cleped;" named (Milles).

(14) "Sythence;" since then (Milles).

(15) Pile-hill. Its alleged older name is invented.

(16) "Han;" had (Milles).

thorowe Seyncte Paules Streate (17) and a Lane anear whylome (18) was cleped (19) Rhistreate in Saxonne Tongue the Streate of the Ryver (20), hie Reasonne whereof the bottomme mote he moddie and ne able to beare a Chyrche—Natheless (21) the Hallie (22) warke was begonne in the verrie Lane of Rhistreate. but Tyme eftsoons (23) shewed the Trouthe forre the Towerre ne highe nor heuie sonke awaie to the Southe, tareynge a large Gappe from the Chyrchis Bodie; a Maconne was kyllen and three of more aneuthie (24) sleene. To obserynge Eyne the whole Orderr of the Chyrche ys wronge and semethe as though he shaken bie an Erthequake. The Knyghtes Templarres lette ytte lie unconsecrated, unthyll Syxteene Yeeres, whanne for Gremordie agaynie despysinge Johne a Brixter yt was crenelled (25) at Toppe, goeynge no hygher than beefore, glayzeinge the wyndowes and syngeynge thereyn. Botte the Pryncypalie (26) dyeinge, another dyd hym succeed; Who dyd sende for Johne a Bryxter and emploied him—He than beganue To staie the same bie Pyles, and rayسد the same as hie agayne ynne the Towre, makeynge ytte stronge and lasteable, leaveynge the fyrste Battlementes to shew howe farre he dyd raise ytte. Hee dyed, and yn 1296 Thomæ Ruggilie added the three smalle Chapeles for dailie Chauntrie. One of Whyche was graunted too the Weavers bie Kyng Edward of that name the fyrst.

(17) Temple-street? In one of the "Rowley" manuscripts, in the British Museum, too palpably spurious for even Barrett to print, Temple-gate is named "the Gate of Seyncte Paules." The apocryphal names young Rowley has given to Temple Street, its cross and gate, were probably suggested by *St. Paul's* fair, which, in Chatterton's time, was held in Temple Street.

(18) "Whylome;" of old, formerly (Sharpe).

(19) "Cleped;" named (Milles).

(20) *Water-lane*, near Temple church? For *Rhi* or *Rhea*, "Saxonne" for river, see Camden's "Britannia." Chatterton found an old edition of that work amongst Lambert's books.

(21) "Natheless;" nevertheless (Bailey).

(22) "Hallie;" holy (Chatterton). Printed "halle" in Barrett: thus turning "the Hallie warke" of the MS. into "the halle worke."

(23) "Eftsoons;" quickly (Chatterton).

(24) "Aneuthie;" "almost" (handwriting of Rev. A. Catcott).

(25) "Crenelled;" "*Crenelle* in Heraldry, embattled or indented" (Kersey, 1721).

(26) "Of the Templars" (interpretation of Rev. A. Catcott).

Gotten for Mastre Canynge
bie Thomas Rowleie.

In an Interlude exhibited before Mr. Canynge on the dedicating of the Church of Redclift are the foll^s Lines relative to the Church of Knights Templars supposed to be spoken by them—

Nor dyd wee lette owre Ryches unthylle (27) lie,
Butte dyd ybuyld the Temple Chyrche so fyne,
The whyche y^s wroughte aboute soe bysmarelie, (28)
Ytte seemeth Camoise (29) to the wonderynge Eyne.
And ever and anone whanne Belles rynged
Fro[m] place to place ytte moovethyttes hie headde. (30)

N.B. T. Rowley Author of the above was Priest of St. John's Church in Bristowe & Father Confessor to William Canynge Founder of Redclift Church. He lived in the Year 1460."

(27) "Unthylle;" useless (Chatterton). "The word is naught" (Professor Skeat).

(28) "Bysmarelie;" curiously (Chatterton).

(29) "Camoise;" crooked upwards. Lat: Simus (Chatterton).

(30) From Chatterton's "Parlyamente of Sprytes," first printed by Barrett in his "History of Bristol," 1789. The first line of the quotation in the text,

"Nor dyd wee lette owre Riches unthylle lie,"

appears in Barrett (p. 608), in Southey & Cottle's edition of Chatterton's works (1803, ii. p. 54) and in Willcox's (Cambridge, 1842, i. p. 276), as—

"Nee dyd we lette oure ryches *untyle* bee."

In Professor Skeat's modernised version of the Rowley Poems, the line in question reads:—

"Nor did we let our riches useless be."

Here Chatterton's own equivalent (useless) is correctly substituted for the Rowleyan "untyle"—used, Professor Skeat says, "perhaps for 'untilled'"—but the reading of "be" for "lie" remains (Aldine Chatterton, 1875, ii. p. 240); and "untyle bee" will be found in all other editions of the Rowley Poems. Whether Chatterton inadvertently wrote *untyle be* in Barrett's manuscript (now in the British Museum, additional MSS. 7566, B.) instead of *unthylle lie*, as in the Temple manuscript, can be only conjectured. If the latter reading be substituted, the obscurity of the line as printed in all editions of the Rowley Poems, will disappear.

A Knight Templar's sprite speaks.

Nor did we let our riches useless lie,
But did y-build the Temple Church so fine,
The which is wrought about so bismarlie.
It seemeth crooked to the wondering eyne.
And ever and anon when bells ringed,
From place to place it moveth its high head.

It may be here noted that "wroughte aboute soe bysmarelie" (curiously) in the third line of the quotation in the text, appears in Professor Skeat's version as "brought about so bismarlie" (Ib. ii. p. 240)—a typographical error which escaped the proof-reader.

N.B. The following account was copied from two ancient writings found (with many others) in an old chest in Kilduff Church in
Briton,

Knights Templars Chyrche.

The uncanthelbhamme this Church was first ybuilden Nathels I redde yn the
 Records of the Revestrie that ynn 1271 Syr Wommen in Coster brake dyd doo psonaun,
 for Robrice goyng fro Seynct Pauls Bispe to the Newe Church of Temples.
 Certis ys the Event known howgater yt became crooked. Gremordis a Sumbar
 dyd make goode boate that he woulde ybuildenne a Church moe freme thanne
 anie in Byssstow. The knyghtes Templars offtyme dyd hem employe Gnyffersingelis
 aipinge the Argues of Johanes a Brixtor a Byggete. Maunce hane whatte
 same woulde have ybuilden on the Hylle clyped Gelnil Hylle and nythene Hill-
 Hylle. alleagoyng theorie that the Rivor han fannerlis ranne theroover Seynct
 Pauls Shoate and a Lane anear, whylenne was clyped Rhishoate in Lawenne Tongue.
 the Shoate of the Rivor bio Reasonne whereof the betterman mote ~~make~~ be oneddis
 and re able to beare a Church. Nathels the Hallis warkes was begunne in the
 sonis Lane of Rhishoate, but Tyms offtyme shewed the Faulte fere the Weaver
 no hygh nor howie sonthe awaie to the South the lareynge a large Cappe from the
 Churchis Bodis; a Maunce was hyllon and thoo of more ^{almost} ~~ancient~~ slene.
 To observynge Ene the whole Bodon of the Church, ^{ys wong} and somethe as though shoken
 bio an Earthquake. The knyghtes Templars lette ytte be unconsecrated, unthyl
 Sytens yceos whanne for Gremordis agayne despyngs John a Brixtor ytra
 crouelled at Toppe goyng no hygher than ~~sofow~~, glayngs the byndones and
 vyngeyngs theroyn. Botte the Pynceyallid dyoyngs, another dyd hym vnyssed,
 the dyd sende for John a Byggeter and employed him. He than beganne
 To staie the same bio Pyles, and rayped the same as he agayne ymo the Ture,
 makoyng ytte stronge and lastable. leavyng the fyris Battlementes to shew
 howe farno he dyd raise ytte. Too dyd, anayn 1296 Thomas Ruggilia
 added the thre smallle Chapoles for dailis Chaunte. ^{On} Whyche was
 graunted too the Weaver bio Kinge Edwards of that name the fynt—
 Gaten for Mashe Ganyng bio Thomas Howleis

In an Interlude exhibited before Mr. Canynger on
the occasion of the Church of Redcliff and the folks
Lives relative to the Church of Knights Templars stepped
to be spoken by them.

Now dyd wee lette our Ryches unthylle lie
Butt dyd yfayde the Temple Churche so fyne

Turn over,
signards.

TEMPLE TOWER.

Temple Church derives its name from having belonged to a cell of the Knights Templars, the foundations of whose small church (*parva ecclesia*) were discovered during the alterations in 1872. The graphic account of the church, communicated by the supposed ghost of Rowley to Chatterton, is wholly fictitious. The oldest portions of the stately fabric are the Weavers' chapel and parts of the chancel, which are of the Decorated style and belong to the fourteenth century. The nave and aisles are of the fifteenth century, or Perpendicular period. (31)

As to the date of the erection of the tower, which, from its great inclination, has given Temple a distinctive fame amongst the churches of Bristol, local historians widely differ. As far as the trefoil band—"the fyrste battlementes" of Chatterton's story—John Evans assigns to the year 1161, and adds, "whether Chatterton's 'Gremordei a Lumburd,' was the original architect or not, cannot be readily disputed." (32) "For my own part," George Pryce says, "I believe the lower portion of the tower was being built in 1390; and that the upper portion was added about the year 1460." (33)

Some new information relative to the tower is contained in the Rev. T. P. Wadley's "Notes or Abstracts of the Wills contained in The Great Orphan Book and Book of Wills, in the Council House at Bristol," recently issued by the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society. Reginald Taillour, burgess of Bristol, in his will dated Sept. 18th, 1397, desired to be buried in the Church of Holy Cross Temple of Bristol, and bequeathed "to the work of the tower there, if it should be *renovated*, 100s." (34)

John Sely, Mayor of Bristol in 1410-11, in his will dated Dec. 22nd, 1413, bequeathed "to the work of Temple tower, if it should be constructed anew, 100s." (35) Thomas Blount, merchant, in his will dated May

(31) John Taylor's *Ecclesiastical Bristol*, 1881, pp. 140, 142. This is the fullest history of Bristol churches published. It forms the second volume of "*Bristol Past and Present*."

(32) "*History of Bristol*," 1824, p. 96, note.

(33) "*Popular History of Bristol*," pp. 299, 300. See also Burder, Hine and Godwin's "*Architectural Antiquities of Bristol*," 1851, p. 11.

(34) Rev. T. P. Wadley's "*Notes of Bristol Wills*," 1886, p. 54.

(35) "*Si de noua fu'it constructu' C's.*"—*Ibid.* 91-92.

26th, 1441, desired to be buried in the cemetery of Holy Cross Temple; and if the parishioners intend to build the tower of that Church they are to have forty shillings "of his goods when they shall have built the tower anew." (36) These quotations from the wills of Temple parishioners evidence that the older tower of their church was dilapidated at the end of the fourteenth century, and a new one contemplated early in the fifteenth, which, in 1441, had not been erected. The only other contemporary evidence relating to it is contained in the Itinerary of William Worcester, who says, "the new square tower [of Temple Church] was built about A.D. 1460, by the parishioners for the tolling and ringing of the great bells." (37) As Worcester was born in Bristol, there spent his youth, and did not go to Oxford until 1432, he must have been familiar with the appearance of the older tower. In the decline of life he returned to Bristol and made a survey of the town, and, in his note-book, twice over mentions the fact that the tower he then saw was new. (38). On this point his testimony ought to be conclusive. (39)

From these authentic records it is evident that about the time William Canynges, "with the helpe of others of ye worshipfulle towne of Bristol," was restoring the church of St. Mary Redcliff, and while John Shipward, the builder of the magnificent tower of St. Stephen's, was still living, the weavers, the tuckers, and other parishioners of Temple were erecting the present stately tower, which, as Worcester saw it in 1480, "must," Dr. E. A. Freeman remarks, "have ranked as quite the second steeple" of a city famed for its fine steeples. (40)

"On October 9th, 1772," the Rev. A. Catcott says, "I plummeted Temple Tower in order to know its exact deviation from the perpendicular," and found it to be "just 3 feet 9 inches and a half." (MS., Temple

(36) "De bonis meis cu' ip'i idem Campanile de nouo edificau' int."—*Ibid.*, 129-30.

(37) "Pro campanis magnificis pulsandis et sonandis."—*Itinerarium*, edit. Nasmith (Cant. 1778), p. 228.

(38) *Ibid.*, pp. 203, 228.

(39). On leaving Oxford, Worcester entered the service of Sir John Fastolf, of Caistor, in Norfolk, and became his private secretary, and was appointed one of his executors. Worcester's testy old master, it may be noted, was the historic "Sir John Fastolfe" of Shakspeare's *Henry VI.*, but not "Falstaff" the vapouring Knight of *Henry IV.*, and *The Merry Wives of Windsor*.—(*Saturday Review*, Jan. 18th, 1879.)

(40) "On the Perpendicular of Somerset," in *Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeological Society*, vol. II., ii., p. 52.

muniments.) At what time the foundation sunk and caused this alarming declination is unknown. The earliest notice of its instability contained in our local annals is under the year 1567, when Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk (beheaded in 1572), Lord Rich, and other noblemen visited Temple, and "had the bells rung to try the truth of the tower's shaking at such times." (41)

When Abraham Ortelius, the celebrated geographer, visited Bristol, about 1575, he says he dropped a stone as large as a goose-egg into the chinck which opened between the tower and the church wall when the bells were rung, and saw it crushed; and when he placed his back against the tower, he became apprehensive he might be buried under its ruins. Ortelius adds that the Mayor and others assured him the whole body of the structure, before the rent and separation took place, had tottered and been agitated so violently that the lamps used to be extinguished, and the oil thrown out of them; of which fact there were then living witnesses (42).

Similar to the above, but not so full, is the account in Camden's "Britannia," (43) which Tyrwhitt, the learned editor of the first edition of the Rowley Poems (1777) says, "I am persuaded gave rise to the whole of Chatterton's romantic story concerning the Temple Church at Bristol." (44)

"The perpendicular height of the tower is 114 feet 2 inches and a half.—ALEXANDER CATCOTT, Vicar, 1772." (MS., Temple muniments.)

"It appears from measuring the tower with a level, that the south-west corner is 22 inches and a half sunk more than the south-east corner, which occasions the tower to lean towards the street." (MS. note by Arthur Bedford, Vicar of Temple, 1703.)

(41) Seyer's "Memoirs of Bristol," ii., p. 240.

(42) Braun, "Civitates Orbis Terrarum," iii. (1581), 2.

(43) Bp. Gibson's edition, 1695, "Somersetshire," col. 74.

(44) Vindication of the Appendix to the Poems, called Rowley's, 1782, p. 213. The whole of Camden's description of Bristol is reprinted in the first part of Andrew Hooke's "Bristolgia," published in 1748. This is another book Chatterton is known to have used.

"The fact that the tower has been in much the same position, as at present, for the last 350 years, and has been subject during that time to frequent oscillation, increases the beholder's surprise at its stability, and his admiration at the great masonic skill evinced in its construction." (Burder, Hine, and Godwin's "Architectural Antiquities of Bristol," 1851, p. 10.)

"The ancient arms of the church were the same as those of the Knights Templars, and of the Temple in London—the Holy Lamb and Cross" (Barrett, p. 544); and not as now represented on the vane, and on a shield over the western entrance—a *lion* holding the same sacred emblem.



*Seal used by the Master and Chapter of the
Knights Templars in England.*

CHATTERTON AND TEMPLE CHURCH.

If it is surprising how much has been said about Chatterton, it is also surprising how much has been left unsaid. Of gleaners after the reapers have done Mr. William George has been one of the most industrious; and he has had his reward in the discovery of many fresh particulars in illustration of the young poet's literary career. His last pamphlet, "Thomas Chatterton and the Vicar of Temple Church, Bristol," shows that there was one man in Bristol who could discern the old monk-poet Rowley in the Redcliff boy Chatterton, and who was not to be imposed upon by the spurious mediævalism of an account of the "Knights Templaries Chyrche," which the artful fabricator had brought him, from (he said) Canynge's coffer in the famous north perch of Our Lady's church close by. The Rev. Alexander Catcott, to whom we are referring, saw the monk's hood in the attorney's clerk, whom he considered to be "upon the whole the most extraordinary genius he ever met with." Much profitless controversy between Rowleians and Anti-Rowleians would have been saved if his view of Chatterton's sufficiency for the Rowleian inventions had been unanimous among literary men. Rowleians are now all dead, but we need not be surprised in these Denelly days at a re-birth of such ~~folly~~, for it is only to deny that Chatterton was a youth of genius and he will become as ignoble and incapable as Shakspeare himself among Bacchanians. Mr. George has produced an admirable fac-simile of the curious paper on the Templars' Church, of which the "original," on parchment, is in the British Museum; but a copy in the poet's handwriting is preserved in the vestry of Temple church, Bristol. From this copy (to which Chatterton has added thirteen lines of prose and verse) Mr. George has been able to produce a much-amended edition of the piece, which he has elucidated by a good glossary of obscure words. The other illustrations in the pamphlet are "Temple Tower," "The Old Vicarage, near Temple church," and a vignette of the "Seal used by the Master and Chapter of the Knights Templars in England." From old Bristol wills the author has gathered some new and interesting information relative to the history and date of construction of the famous leaning tower of Temple.—*Bristol Times and Mirror*, June 18, 1883.

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New Facts
relating to
The Chatterton Family.

NEW FACTS RELATING TO
The Chatterton Family

GATHERED FROM MANUSCRIPT ENTRIES IN A
"HISTORY OF THE BIBLE"

WHICH ONCE BELONGED TO
THE PARENTS OF
Thomas Chatterton the Poet

AND FROM
Parish Registers.

BRISTOL:
W. GEORGE & SON, 26, PARK STREET,
1883

THE interesting manuscript records in the Chatterton family History of the Bible were discovered by Mr. John Taylor, Librarian of the Bristol Museum and Library, and communicated by him to the "Athenæum," in which journal they appeared December 10th, 1881. The following pages contain a re-print of Mr. Taylor's communication, and a selection from the controversial letters it evoked, to which are added a few notes and an index.—W. G.



The Master's House, Pile-street Free School.
(From "Bristol: Past and Present.")



*The Master's House, Pile Street Free School, the Residence of Chatterton's Parents.
(From "Bristol: Past and Present.")*

NEW FACTS relating to the CHATTERTON FAMILY, gathered from Manuscript Entries in a "History of the Bible," which once belonged to the PARENTS of THOMAS CHATTERTON the Poet, and from PARISH REGISTERS. 8vo., 16 pp., 1s. : or on large paper, 4to., 2s. post free. [1883.]

"In the present revival of interest in Chatterton literature, this contribution will be welcome to the collector of Chattertoniana. The 'Bible History' referred to is now in the possession of the publisher of the pamphlet, and no one can read the controversy between Mr. John Taylor, Mr. J. H. Ingram and Mr. George himself—which appeared some time since in the *Athenæum*, and is here republished—without coming to the conviction that the volume is a veritable relic of the Chatterton household, and that the entries containing the 'New Facts' are genuine. The publisher's annotated Index is a marvel of exhaustiveness, and is possibly unique in its way."—*Bristol Times and Mirror*.

"Mr. William George, whose skilful elucidations of some local archeological problems are known to our readers, has just issued, under the title of "Some New Facts relating to the Chatterton Family," a selection from the controversial letters which have appeared in reference to the recent discovery of the Chatterton family Bible. It will be remembered that the entries of births and baptisms in the volume in question, when made known by Mr. John Taylor, of the Bristol Library, were condemned as forgeries by a London critic, whose asperity was more conspicuous than his knowledge. The attack, however, put Mr. Taylor and Mr. George on their mettle, and they soon successfully established the accuracy of the manuscript and the incorrectness of all the biographies as regards the points in dispute. Mr. George has added a valuable Index to the papers."—*Bristol Mercury*.

"The result of this little work is that the following New Facts relating to the Chatterton family have been established beyond further dispute:—(1) That the poet's parents were married at Chipping Sodbury, and that the maiden name of Chatterton's mother was Sarah Young; (2) That the poet had a brother who was christened Giles Malpas, in Redcliff Church, on the day stated in the inscription in the 'Bible History'; (3) That Mary, the poet's sister, was baptised in Redcliff Church on the day recorded in the 'Bible History'; and (4) that her age inscribed on the family tombstone, in Redcliff churchyard, is an error."—*Clifton Chronicle*.

WILLIAM GEORGE & SON, 26 PARK STREET, BRISTOL.

THE CHATTERTON FAMILY.

I.

(From the *Athenæum*, December 10th, 1881.

Museum and Library, Bristol.

A BRISTOL dealer in curiosities has now on sale an imperfect quarto history of the Bible, printed in the last century, but undated, containing the original family entries of the birth and baptism of Chatterton, and the like of his brother and sister. The book has escaped the collectors, and was lately bought by its present owner from a poor person in Bristol. The title-page of the Old Testament portion is missing, and the work, which is much thumbed, partly no doubt by the young poet himself, begins with "Book II." The New Testament history retains the title, which is as follows:—"A Compleat History of the Holy Gospel: containing the Incarnation, Birth, Doctrine, Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ. Illustrated with Notes, explaining several difficult Passages and reconciling many Texts that are seemingly Contradictory." The inscriptions, which are unquestionably genuine and contain particulars not to be found in the biographies, are on the back of this title, except one at the end of the book, which is crossed through. The firm, round, schoolmaster's style of penmanship shows the hand of the poet's father, who conducted the Pile-street School. It may be inferred that he was a believer in astrology, for he has given the ages of the moon for casting the horoscopes of his children's births. It is curious that the name first appears as "Chadderdon":—

Mary, the Daughter of Thomas and Sarah Chadderdon, was born in Pile-street, Teusday Morning about 8 a Clock, the 14th day of February, Anno Domini 1748-9, and Baptized the 13th March following by the Reverend Wm. Williams in St. Mary Redcliff Church.

George Pew of Temple parish	} Godfathers.
John Pipping of Maryport	
Jane Moses	} Godmothers.
Jane Arden	

Moon first Quarter 13 day 1 morning.

Giles Malpas, the Son of Thomas Chatterton by Sarah his Wife, was born at the Charity School in Pile Street, on a Wednesday Morning between 4 & 5 a clock, 12th Dece. 1750, and was Baptized in St. Mary Redcliff Church the first day of January following by the Reverd. Mr. Wm. Williams.

Andrea fuhrer	} Godfathers.
J. Fredrick Moser	
Betty at ye Deans	} Godmothers.
Ann Andrews	

Moon last Quarter 9 Decem. 3 in ye Afternoon. and died April the 16 Aged 4 months and 4 days.

Thomas, the son of Thomas and Sarah Chatterton, was Born November the 20 in 1752, on a Monday Night between 6 and 7 o Clock, and was baptized in St. Mary Redcliff Church the 1 (?) Day of January following by the Rev. Mr. Giles.

Full Moon the 22 at 3 and 4 Evening.

wherein, under the head "Baptizeings," and the year 1748, March 13th, I find "Mary, daughter of Thomas Chatterton." This shows that there is not an antedating of the event in question, but that the date exactly coincides with the inscription in the Bible history. With respect to the information "that the poet had a brother, and that brother was christened by the suggestive names of 'Giles Malpas,'" Mr. Ingram confesses it to be so original that strong confirmation is required to prove the fact. I will undertake to convince even him. Under the proper date, then, 1750, January 1st, I find in the same baptismal register, "Giles Malpas, son of Thomas Chatterton." "This hitherto unknown boy," adds Mr. Ingram, derisively, "it should be noticed, was born in the same year as Mary Chatterton's birth really took place." Who asserts this unlikely fact? Not I, nor the register, but Mr. Ingram! A tablet inserted in the front wall of the master's house in connexion with the Pile Street School gives the reason why this odd name was adopted by the poet's father:—"This house was erected by Giles Malpas, of St. Thomas Parish, Gent., for the use of the Master of this School, A.D. 1749." This was one year before Giles Malpas Chatterton was born, and it tends to show that in naming his eldest son after his patron the much decried schoolmaster was not altogether destitute of the feeling of gratitude.

The third entry in the register, though the most interesting, Mr. Ingram does not object to, but I may as well quote it: "1753, Jan. 1. Thomas, son of Thomas and Sarah Chatterton." As to the objection contained in the assertion that "no such clergyman as the Rev. William Williams* or the Rev. Mr. Giles held benefices in Bristol during the last century," it is so weak as to be hardly worth adverting to. It is true that the "Rev. Mr. Broughton was Vicar of St. Mary Redcliff from 1744 to 1772;" but can Mr. Ingram seriously believe that so busy a literary man could conduct the affairs of so large a church and district as those of Redcliff as well as perform the duties of the mother church of Bedminster, of which Redcliff was a chapelry, without the assistance of curates? Unfortunately, on my late visit to the church the books containing the names of the past curates were inaccessible; but I fearlessly challenge Mr. Ingram to prove that Williams and Giles are not among these names. A letter to the vicar (Rev. Archdeacon Norris) would enable him to ascertain the accuracy of my citations from the register, together with the names of the clergy who christened the three young Chattertons. Another letter to the Vicar of Sodbury would enable him also to find whether the maiden name of the poet's mother was Sarah Young, as given in my quotation of the M.S. entry in the family Bible history. If your correspondent can yet

* Amongst the names of the subscribers prefixed to Thomas Richards's "*Antiquæ Linguae Britannicæ*," printed in Bristol, by Felix Farley, in 1753, is that of the clergyman who christened Mary Chatterton and her brother Giles Malpas. It is entered there as follows:—

"Rev. William Williams, Curate of St. Mary-Redcliff, Bristol."

This proves him to have been a curate of that church during the time the Rev. T. Broughton was the vicar.

W. G.

believe that the inscriptions I have supplied you with from that volume are a "fabrication," an "imposture," a "forgery," and a "hoax," I shall be glad to hear his further reasons in your columns. For my own part I still hold, both from internal and external evidence to the opinion, or rather assertion, that they are unquestionably genuine.

JOHN TAYLOR.

IV.

(From the *Athenæum*, January 7th, 1882.)

Bristol, January 2nd, 1882.

THREE out of the four MS. inscriptions in the Chatterton quarto Mr. John Taylor has verified by the Redcliff parish register. From an equally pure source I can prove the undoubted genuineness of the fourth, which records the marriage of the poet's father and mother "at Sodbury Church in Gloucestershire" (*"Athenæum,"* December 10th, 1881). The following extract from the marriage register of Chipping-Sodbury is certified by the vicar, the Rev. W. H. P. Harvey:—"Weddings, 1749.—April 25th, Thomas Chatterton of ye Parish of St. Mary Redcliff and Sarah Young of Stapleton." The accuracy of the information afforded by the fourth inscription is thus substantiated by the church register, and proves beyond cavil that the maiden name of the poet's mother was "Sarah Young"—a piece of information which Mr. John H. Ingram assures us is "certainly not" to be found in the biographies of the poet (*"Athenæum,"* December 17th, 1881).

"John Pipping" and "George Pew," Mary Chatterton's god-fathers, I have been able to trace. The former, in 1754, was a "haberdasher," the latter a "baker." Both voted for Beckford and Phillips, as did "Giles Malpas, Gent.," after whom the poet's elder brother was named (Bristol Poll Book, E. Farley [1754], pp. 17, 112, 119).

"Chatterton's mother," wrote Dean Milles in 1782, "informed a gentleman of credit" that on one of her son's visits to his home, happening to see Clarke's 'History of the Bible'—which was covered with one of the old parchments from Redcliff Church—"he swore a great oath, and, stripping the book, put the cover in his pocket, and carried it away." At the same time he stripped "a common little Bible, but, finding no writing on the cover, replaced it again very leisurely" (Rowley's 'Poems,' 4to., 1782, p. 7). Eleven years after the poet's death, Mrs. Chatterton, when showing Clarke's book to Jacob Bryant, mentioned its former parchment covering (Bryant's 'Observations on Rowley,' 1781, p. 521).

The Bible history from which Mr. Taylor copied the Chattertonian inscriptions printed in the "*Athenæum*" (December 10th, 1881) is now before me. Although very imperfect and without the title-page,

it can be identified, as the name of the author, "Laurence Clarke," is appended to all the dedicatory inscriptions on the engravings. According to Dr. Allibone, Laurence Clarke's 'History of the Bible' was published in 1737, in two volumes quarto. The present example, which is bound in one volume, appears to be the identical book that Chatterton so roughly despoiled of its covering as related by his mother. Notwithstanding Mr. Ingram's assertions that the MS. records in it are "palpable fabrications," &c., I have no more doubt of their genuineness than the "dealer in curiosities" had of the genuineness of the banknotes paid him (six days after Mr. Ingram's letter appeared) for the ragged quarto that contained them.

"No sooner is its true character displayed," writes Mr. Ingram, "than the quarto will doubtless disappear." This prophecy has yet to be fulfilled. Its true character makes it worthy of careful preservation as a very precious relic associated with Bristol's "marvellous boy." The book will now occupy a special glass case, which it is hoped may preserve it from being again exposed to the risk of destruction similar to that from which it has recently been rescued. I need hardly add that I shall always have pleasure in showing it to those interested in Chatterton.

WILLIAM GEORGE.

V.

(Extract from Mr. JOHN H. INGRAM's Letter in the *Athenæum*, January 7th, 1882.)

The few details Mr. Taylor proffers for use in my paper on Chatterton would be of no value even if they were not too late, as my paper concerns the poet and not his relatives. As regards the date of Mary Chatterton's birth, let me state that one of my authorities is the family tombstone in St. Mary Redcliff churchyard—a record which, strange to say, makes no allusion to "Giles Malpas," although it is so minute in its family history as to include two unnamed sons and a daughter of the aforesaid Mary. If this tombstone is to be relied on, and does refer to the same branches of the Chatterton family as the register referred to by Mr. Taylor, it proves that the poet's mother was only seventeen when this daughter Mary was born.

VI.

(Extract from Mr. JOHN TAYLOR's Letter in the *Athenæum*, January 14th, 1882.)

I am aware that the family tombstone in St. Mary Redcliff "makes no allusion to 'Giles Malpas,' and that the date of Mary Chatterton's birth there disagrees with my authority; but the

gravestone, like Mr. Ingram's own information, requires to be corrected by the parish register—the parish register being the Sacred Writ of the genealogist. As to Mr. Ingram's depreciation of these corrections, and of the fresh details supplied by the quarto, I am not concerned. He says that for the purpose of his article on Chatterton they “would be of no value even if they were not too late, as my paper concerns the poet and not his relatives.” Chatterton's family ties, however, were of a very interesting kind, and, though I have no doubt of the ability of Mr. Ingram's paper, I hope he will have considered them more than he gives us to anticipate.

VII.

(From the *Bristol Times and Mirror*, February 20th, 1882.)

OUR readers have already been made acquainted with the newly-ascertained facts relative to the family of the poet Chatterton, which had been communicated to the “*Athenæum*” by Mr. John Taylor, and have been proved correct in spite of the animadversions of Mr. Ingram, of the London Post-office; or rather in consequence of the warm controversy between him and the librarian of our Museum and Library. Mr. Taylor, in his last letter to the “*Athenæum*” (Jan. 28) rather keenly tells his censor that he declined “any further correspondence on the subject of Chatterton until Mr. Ingram had referred to original as well as second-hand authorities.” The following letter, which is the last on the point in dispute, appeared in last Saturday's “*Athenæum*.” The writer, Mr. William George, is the present owner of the Chatterton quarto, which he bought *after* Mr. Ingram's condemnatory letter appeared, in which he calls the inscriptions it contains “palpable fabrications,” &c. Indeed, as Mr. Taylor wrote in his reply, Mr. Ingram's fierce epistle “was the incentive to Mr. George becoming the purchaser.” We would remind our married readers that at the date of the marriage referred to in the following letter, the ceremony of registering it was not the elaborate “sign, seal, and deliver” ordeal *they* so nervously passed through. In the old parish registers, under the heading of “Weddings,” the names of the “happy couple” and the place they came from were entered—simple particulars that were frequently contained in a single line of the register. Even the name of the clergyman who officiated was not appended to the brief entry. Before 1753, births, marriages, and deaths were generally entered in the same register. This is the case in that of Sodbury. Mr. George says:—

Bristol, February 10th, 1882.

After Mr. Ingram wrote in the “*Athenæum*” (December 17th, 1881) that ‘some more satisfactory evidence’ should be produced as to the maiden name of the poet's mother being ‘Sarah Young,’ as recorded in the Chatterton quarto, I sent you an extract from the marriage register of Chipping Sodbury, which proved that was her name, and at the same time I supplied other information not to be found in the biographies of Chatterton.

In last week's 'Athenæum' (February 4th), Mr. Ingram, for the second time, animadverts upon the variation of a year in the date of the marriage as given in the two records. The discrepancy did not escape my notice. That the truth might be ascertained, a copy of the marriage certificate was sent entire, leaving the point in question for further inquiry. As all the other dates in the inscriptions in the Chatterton quarto have now been proved to be accurate, I hope ultimately to show that this one is also, which dates the marriage as '*Monday*, the 25th day of April, in the year 1748.' The 25th of April, 1749—the year of the marriage as given in the Sodbury register—fell on a *Tuesday*. Mary Chatterton was born in Pile-street in the latter year, her father then being master of the free school in that street, and also sub-chantor of Bristol Cathedral (at the time when the distinguished author of the '*Analogy*' was bishop), which offices he held till his death. Can it be conceived that five weeks *after* her baptism in Redcliff Church her parents were married at Sodbury; and that this delayed wedding occurred in the very town in which fourteen years of her father's life had been passed!

The statement on the Chatterton tombstone, in St. Mary Redcliff churchyard, that Mary Newton (the abovenamed Mary Chatterton) was at the time of death 'aged fifty-three years,' is erroneous. As she was born '14th day of February, 1748-9' (i.e., 1749 present computation), and died '23rd February, 1804,' her true age—after deducting the eleven days dropped in Sept., 1752, through the alteration of the calendar—was fifty-four years and 363 days. When Jacob Bryant visited Mrs. Chatterton and her daughter in 1781, the latter told him that she was 'somewhat *more* than three years older than her brother' [the poet, born November 20th, 1752], (Bryant's '*Observations on Rowley*,' 1781, p. 521). This statement agrees with the above-cited record of her birth from the Chatterton quarto, and with the entry of her burial in the register of St. Mary Redcliff, a copy of which the vicar (Archdeacon Norris) has kindly sent me, It is as follows:—'Burials, 1804. Mary Newton, Feb. 27th, aged fifty-five.'

This proves beyond doubt that the age 'fifty-three' on the tombstone is an error for 'fifty-five.' As the inscription containing this blunder is one of the authorities quoted by Dr. Wilson, Mr. Ingram, and other writers on Chatterton, I assume it has escaped detection. I intend shortly to produce a facsimile of the inscriptions in the Chatterton quarto, accompanied by some new information on the subject.

WILLIAM GEORGE.

FROM the preceding correspondence (1) it will be seen that by Church Registers and the Inscriptions in the History of the Bible, the following *new facts* relating to the Chatterton family have been established beyond further dispute:

1.—That the poet's parents were married at Chipping Sodbury, Gloucestershire, and that the maiden name of the poet's mother was Sarah Young (2).

2.—That the poet had a brother who was christened “Giles Malpas,” in Redcliff church, on the day stated in the inscription in the Bible History (3).

3.—That Mary, the poet’s sister, was baptised in Redcliff Church on the day recorded in the Bible History (4), and that her age inscribed on the family tombstone, in Redcliff Churchyard, is an error (5).

These fresh details concerning the Chatterton family will have to be embodied by some future biographer of the poet, who, like Dr. Wilson, is in sympathy with his subject, and finds an interest in whatever may help to a more adequate understanding of the local family connections of one who has excited so much interest in the literary world.

(1). Other Letters on the subject appeared in the “Athenæum” of Jan. 21st, 28th; Feb. 4th and 25th, 1882. These are not reprinted, as nothing in them affects the three points mentioned in the text.

(2). See Letter IV. page 9. (3). See Letter III. page 8. (4). See Letter III. page 8. (5). See Certificate of her burial, page 12.

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IN PREPARATION.

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OCTOBER.

BY THOMAS CHATTERTON. (1)

[Reprinted, without alteration of spelling, from *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* for October 28th, 1769.]

SEE, far extended o'er the verdant lawn
The filmy mist obstructs the pleasing view;
And, fondly hanging on the glimm'ring dawn,
Evaporates in spires of drilling (2) dew.

The saffron chequers of the east are lost,
The shrouded sun a sanguine red displays,
No wavy silver cloud, with fire embossed,
Reflects the dazzle of his bright'ning rays.

The lab'ring light the darkned scene refines,
The dew-drops gleam a transitory glare;
With swelling splendor now the ether shines,
On every side the op'ning prospects clear.

The distant mountain is obscurely seen,
The village turret steals upon the eye;
The meadow, mantled in a gold-ting'd green,
Glow with new life and throws the vapor by.

The lofty branches of the lordly oak
Immerging from the yellow leaf arise;
And, in defiance of the light'nings stroke,
Check the loud whirlwinds and embrace the skies.

(1) This poem is evidently by Chatterton, though not included in any edition of his works; neither, since it appeared in the columns of *Felix Farley*, has it, as far as known to me, been reprinted. The external and internal evidences prove it to be Chatterton's. The external evidences are (1) the newspaper in which it appeared; (2) the date of its appearance; and (3) the signature "B."—(*Bristolensis*,) being the second letter of his signature "D. B." appended to "February, an Elegy," and to many of his other contributions, in 1769-70, to *The Town and Country Magazine*. The internal evidences are supplied by comparison with other poems by Chatterton, written about the same time as "October." Some examples are given at the end of the poem.

(2) "To *Drill*, to draw in, or entice." Kersey's Dictionary, 1721; "—to draw on or entice." Bailey's Dictionary, 1751. "The Dictionaries of Bailey and Kersey are the books Chatterton trusted to from first to

The skirted pasture and the rushy moor
 Smile with new beauties in the grazing herd;
 On airy wing the envious warblers soar,
 Fir'd with the music of the morning bird.

The purple clusters bend the yielding vine,
 The fragrant apple scents the breathing gale;
 The rustic swain, upon his crook supine,
 Sings to the echoes (3) of the stubbed vale.

The winding horn resounds along the dells;
 The stretching pack's reverberating sound
 Upon the wings of every zephyr swells,
 And makes the russet waste enchanted ground.

These are the pleasures in October's train,
 Whose bleak attendants roughly charm the soul;
 And, when the veil of darkness shrouds the plain,
 Bid friendship consecrate the festive bowl.

Bristol, Oct. 24 [1769].

B.

Two days after this poem appeared in *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal*, Chatterton addressed to Michael Clayfield (4) his "Elegy" on the death of his sympathetic friend and adviser Thomas Phillips (5). The poet commences his lament with this stanza:—

"No more I hail the morning's golden gleam,
 No more the wonders of the view I sing;
 Friendship requires a melancholy theme,
 At her command, the awful lyre I string!"

In the first two lines, does not Chatterton allude to his "October," in which a few days before he sang "the wonders of the view?"

last. If we take Rowley to be a mere pseudonym for Kersey and Bailey, we shall hardly ever err."—Professor Skeat. The only authority for the use of "To drill," in the sense of "to draw slowly," that Dr. Johnson could find, was Thomson:

"Drill'd through the sandy stratum every way,
 The waters with the sandy stratum rise."

—Thomson's *Seasons*, Autumn.

See Todd's *Johnson's Dictionary*, 1827, s.v. "Mr. Clayfield said that he had heard Chatterton read Milton and Thomson." Bryant on Rowley, 1781, p. 535.

- (3) *Echo* so spelt in the Rowley Poems. (Chatterton's Works. Aldine Edn. I. 257 note); and in Kersey's *Dictionary*, 1721.
- (4) The lines sent with the Elegy to Clayfield are dated "Bristol, Monday Evng., Oct. 30—69." See fac-simile of the poem "engraved from the original in the British Museum," in Chatterton's "Poetical Works," Cambridge, 1842, vol. II., plate 1.
- (5) "Chatterton's true teacher, as far as the training of others had any share in the development of his genius, appears to have been the junior master or usher [of Colston's School], Thomas Phillips, to whose example and influence his first contributions to *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* were probably due."—Professor Wilson.

In "An Elegy," written seven months later (May 20, 1770), he appears to refer to the same poem:—

"Once, ere the gold-haired sun shot the new ray
Through the grey twilight of the dubious morn,
To woodlands, lawns, and hills, I took my way,
And listened to the echoes of the horn."

Many carefully selected poetic words in "October" re-appear in the "Elegy" on Phillips, and in later poems, written in the same metre. Let the reader compare the following examples, the first line of each being from "October."

1. See, far extended o'er the verdant *lawn* (6); v. 1.
See! see! the pitchy vapour hides the *lawn*.
Elegy on Phillips, v. 30.
2. Evaporates in spires of *drilling* dew; v. 1.
The bounding hail, or *drilling* rain descend.
February, an Elegy, Feb. 12 [1770.]
3. The *saffron* chequers of the east are lost; v. 2.
The west faint glimmers with the *saffron* fires.
Elegy on Phillips, v. 24.
4. The *dew-drops* gleam a *transitory* glare; v. 3.
The clouded sun emits a *feeble* glare.
Elegy [after Gray] Nov. 1769.
When *glimmering dew-drops* 'stound the traveller's eyne.
Fragment by Rowley, II. 276.
5. The meadow, mantled in a *gold-ting'd* green; v. 4.
When sickening sorrow wets the *yellow* green.
Elegy [after Gray] Nov., 1769.
6. Check the *loud whirlwinds* and embrace the *skies*; v. 5.
Whilst rising *whirlwinds*, lasting, keen, and *loud*.
Elegy on Phillips, v. 12.
7. The *skirted* pasture and the rushy moor; v. 6.
The velvet mantle of the *skirted* mead.
Elegy [May, 1770.]
8. The *purple* clusters bend the yielding wine; v. 7.
From *purple* clusters preste the foamy wine.
Elegy on Phillips, v. 6.
9. Sings to the *echoes* (7) of the stubbed vale; v. 7.
I catch the *echoes* of their feet.
The Complaint [Nov. 1769.]
10. Upon the *wings* of every *zephyr* swells; v. 8.
Whilst softly floating on the *zephyr's* wings.
Elegy, May [1770.]

(6) To the original copy of the "Elegy," Chatterton afterwards added six new stanzas, and altered others. The quotations in the text are from the improved copy, printed in the Aldine "Chatterton," I. pp. 50—56.

(7) For Chatterton's peculiar spelling of "Echo" see note 3, page 6.

11. And makes the *russet waste* enchanted ground ; v. 8.
He [Winter] limps along the *russet dreary moor*.

Elegy on Phillips, v. 12.

12. These are the *pleasures* in *October's* train ; v. 9.
The rough *October* has his *pleasures* too.

Elegy on Phillips, v. 12. (8)

No one living in Bristol in 1769, save Thomas Chatterton, could have written the poem here reprinted from the whity-brown pages of *Felix Farley*. The following verse is a specimen of the "original poetry" that graced its columns in that year. 'Tis the eighteenth and last of "An Elegy" on "Mr. Abraham Rich. Hawksworth, late of this city :"—

"Such gen'ral Grief has rarely been
Sincere, for one lov'd subject seen ;
On Kings great show attend :
All mourn for thee—both Rich and Poor,
Aged and Young—Hawksworth (9) deplore,
They know they've lost their friend."

- (8) Several other parallelisms have been noted. Those given above are thought to answer the purpose for which they are quoted.

- (9) Hawksworth is mentioned by Chatterton in his "Elegy on John Tandy, Senr." Barrett, the Bristol historian, married Mr. Tandy's daughter Mary, who died May the 8th, 1763, aged 32, and was buried with her ancestors in Redcliff church. Her father died January the 5th, 1769, aged 76, and was laid in the same vault as his daughter. In the south transept of Redcliff Church, Barrett placed a marble tablet, with a Latin inscription, to the memory of his wife. Referring to this memorial in his "History," Barrett says it is "to the memory of one who justly deserved the character here given her by her husband : she was taken from him in early life :—*Eheu ! dies atro carbone notanda*." From the day "to be marked with black chalk," to the time (1789) he was making this note for his "History," more than a quarter of a century had elapsed, since his wife "calmly fell asleep in the Lord without a sigh." (*In Domino, tandem sine gemitu, placide abdormivit*). A few months after he wrote the above brief and touching reference to her, the historian was laid in his grave at High Ham, Somerset, of which parish his son, the Rev. William Tandy Barrett, was rector. Mrs. Barrett's memorial was originally "affixed to a column near the tomb of William Canynge." It is not there now ; neither, as far as I can discover, in any other part of the church.

Since the above was in type the Sexton (Mr. S. Cross) has kindly informed me that he had "found Mrs. Barrett's Memorial." It is now under the tower at the west end of the north aisle. It is on the north wall, and is fixed about eighteen feet from the floor. Owing to this, and to my looking for "a *small* marble tablet," as it is described (but erroneously) in the "Guide to Redcliff Church" (1856, p. 27), it escaped my search.

THE REV. ALEXANDER CATCOTT, VICAR OF TEMPLE CHURCH, BRISTOL.

CONTEMPORARY NOTICES OF HIS CHARACTER AND DEATH.

THIS amiable clergyman, whose last moments (according to the account in Mr. Thomas Kerslake's interesting extract from the Life of Bishop Horne) (1) were disturbed by the continual barking of an uncivil neighbour's dog, resided at the Vicarage-house, near Temple church. His brother, George Symes, and their sister Martha, lived with him. All three being single, the residents of the Vicarage were known amongst their friends as "the good people at the monastery." The Vicar's name and address, in a Bristol Directory, published four years before his death, are thus given—"Rev. Mr. Catcott, Temple-church-pavement." The old Vicarage-house still exists, and is used by the present energetic Vicar of Temple for parish purposes. George Catcott's name will be found cut on the glass of one of the windows of the upper rooms. It was here that Chatterton visited the author of the "Treatise on the Deluge"—so the old Vicarage has literary associations of much interest.

Whether the Vicar's father, the Rev. A. S. Catcott, (2) ever lived in Queen-square or not, I do not know. Any information on the subject would be as acceptable to me as Mr. T. Kerslake's account of his son's death is. In the Bristol election, 1739, "Alexander Stopford Cateott, Clerk, Fr. St. Michael, Upper Master of the Grammar School," voted for Henry Combe, the unsuccessful Whig candidate (Bristol Poll-Book, "printed and sold by Felix Farley, in Castle-green," page 4). In 1752, appeared "Sermons by the late Rev. A. S. Cateott, LL.B., . . . late Rector of St. Stephen's, in the City of Bristol. Printed by Felix Farley, Small-street." This was published by subscription, and edited by his son Alexander, afterwards Vicar of Temple. George Symes Catcott, the literary pewterer (of Chattertonian fame), and author of an "Account of

(1) The Extract referred to is given in note 4, page 10.

(2) Among the followers of Hutchinsonianism were the two Cateotts, father and son, clergymen of Bristol, so that it was from Bristol these two theological luminaries of the last century [Bp. Horne and Rev. W. Jones, of Nayland] were inoculated with this now exploded crochet—Jones by the younger Catcott, and his friend Bishop Horne took the infection from him. Mr. Thomas Kerslake, in *Bristol Times and Mirror*.

Pen-Park Hole," &c., was another of his sons. Mr. Richard Smith, the eminent surgeon and antiquary—whose graphic account of the Bridge Riots, in 1793, was lately printed in the antiquarian column of Saturday's *Times and Mirror*—was the Rev. A. S. Catcott's grandson. From the fact of there being in Bristol during the last century three of the Catcott family, all of whom were authors, much confusion respecting them and their works has crept into biographical dictionaries and local histories. Two of them being clergymen with the same Christian name has in no way tended to lessen the confusion. (See Pryce's "Popular History of Bristol," 262, 584; Dr. Allibone's "Dictionary of Authors," I., 354; "Bristol, Past and Present," III., 281; Watt's "Bibliotheca Britannica," I., 202; Orme's "Bib. Biblica," 91-2; and Barrett's "Bristol," 1789, 546). This must be my apology for wandering from my subject. (3)

George Symes Catcott, the literary pewterer, was a frequent correspondent of Dr. Jeremiah Milles, Dean of Exeter, and editor of a handsome quarto edition of Chatterton's Rowley Poems, published in 1782.

The following hitherto unpublished account of his brother's death and character (4) is copied from G. S. Catcott's own transcript of his letter to Dean Milles, dated "Bristol, Aug. 3, 1779":—

It is with the utmost concern I inform you that my late good brother died 18th ult., in 53rd year of his age. Never was any parish clergyman more universally lamented by people of all persuasions. He was attended to his grave by many of our most respectable citizens, who all expressed the most heartfelt concern for his irreparable loss. In private life he was uniformly good, and remarkable for his filial piety. . . . Indeed a man so amiable in his behaviour, so pure in his morals, and so regular and constant in the discharge of his clerical duty, could not but claim the tributary tear from every eye. He was an excellent scholar, a dutiful son, an affectionate brother, and a steadfast and sincere friend: and, what is infinitely more than all, was a pious and orthodox divine who fully practised what he taught. Never did I before see so perfect a pattern of resignation—not the least murmur ever escaped his lips during his long and very painful illness, which he bore with all the fortitude of a primitive martyr. . . . God of his infinite mercy grant that my latter end may resemble his.

(3) For a list of the respective works of the Catcotts, see page 21.

(4) This good and innocent man, whose heart was well affected to all mankind, died before his time; and the manner of his death, if it has been truly reported, will raise the indignation of every sensible and well-disposed mind. He kept his bed with a bad fever; and when rest was necessary, he was disturbed by the continual barking of a dog that was chained up near at hand. When his friends sent a civil message desiring that the dog might be removed till the patient was better, it was refused; and, in the event, he was fairly barked to death. If this fact be true, how cheap are the lives and sufferings of some men in the estimation of others! *Hercule! homini plurima ex homine sunt mala!*—for the dog intended no harm. Of this gentleman himself, we are informed by one of his intimate friends, that, when he settled his account at the year's end, he considered all the money that remained after his own debts were paid as the property, not of himself, but of the poor, to whose use (being a single man) he never failed to apply it.—Jones's "Life of Bishop Horne."

The "18th ult." in the foregoing extract would be the 18th of July, but the Vicar died the 18th of June, and on Wednesday, 24th, was buried in a brick grave, in Temple churchyard. (5) The day after his funeral the following notice of him appeared in *The Bristol Gazette* :—

On Friday last, died in the 53rd year of his age, the Rev. Mr. Catcott, Vicar of Temple, in this city, and chaplain to the Earl of Buchan. His character as a minister was consistently pious, as a man, uniformly good. In the discharge of his public functions he was remarkably regular and punctual; but he did not rest in the exterior of devotion, nor did he ever think that the duties of a Christian minister were confined to the narrow limits of public instruction. His zeal in the cause of God was accompanied with the most fervent charity for his fellow-creatures; and while he earnestly preached the doctrines of Christianity, his practice illustrated his preaching, and his works evidenced his Faith. His unwearied attention to the sick, his warm benevolence to the poor, will make his loss severely felt, and his name be held in lasting remembrance.

The Rev. A. Catcott says in his will, dated March 24th, 1778 :—

I give and bequeath to the Mayor, Burgesses, and Commonalty of the city of Bristol . . . to be kept in their Library room, situate in King-street . . . all my fossils and natural shells, together with the cabinet and drawers containing them . . . all my MS. journals . . . which will be found in one drawer in the beureau in my present study; also my two sets of Mr. Hutchinson's Works, and all my Hutchinsonian miscellanies . . . all my 4to, 8vo, and 12mo books . . . in any way relating to the natural history of the earth . . . Borslase's Natural History of Cornwall . . . the second edition of my Treatise on the Deluge. . . I will also that one of the keys of the aforesaid Fossilary be kept by the Librarian . . . and whenever he shall have occasion to show the said fossils (especially if it be to persons unknown to him), he will take all possible care that the spectators do not transgress the eighth commandment (for curious people generally make no scruple of stealing curiosities). (6)

The books—the bulk of which Carlyle would have classed with those that are "never more to be read by mortal man"—remain on the shelves of the Bristol City Library, but the "Fossilary" and its contents have been lately removed to the Bristol Museum and Library.

Of all Chatterton's Bristol acquaintances, the Vicar of Temple was the most scholarly. The boy-poet's intercourse with him, and his satirical "Epistle to the Reverend Mr. Catcott," will be the subject of my next communication.

(5) "Burlals, 1779, June 23, The Rev. Alexander Catcott, Vicar, in a Brick Grave in ye Church Yard."—From Register of Temple Church, per Mr. Edward G. Doggett.

(6) "The slight poke he gives to 'curious people,' may be inferred, was the result of experience." Mr. Charles Tovey's "History of the City Library," 1852 page 29. On page 28 Mr. Tovey gives a longer extract from the will.

CHATTERTON AND THE VICAR OF TEMPLE,
1768—1770.

THE Rev. Alexander Catcott, M.A., was presented to the Vicarage of Temple church in 1767, being the same year in which Thomas Chatterton left Colston's School. In the year following, after Bristol-bridge was opened, Chatterton became acquainted with the Vicar of Temple's brother, George Symes Catcott, who was then in partnership with Henry Burgum. "Burgum and Catcott, pewterers, 2, Bridge-foot," so the firm is entered in a Bristol Directory for 1775. "2, Bridge-foot" is now 2, Bridge-parade.

The house, at the end of the last century, was occupied by "Thos. Sanders & Co., seed, corn, and hop merchants" (Bristol Directory, 1798), and now by Messrs. Ward and Co., corn merchants, who succeeded to the old-established business of Messrs. Sanders and Co.

The Vicar of Temple was, intellectually, a very different man from his brother, the notable pewterer. The Vicar was a scholar, with scientific tastes and literary aspirations. He had long been known as an author. In the very year that his brother became acquainted with Chatterton (1768), a new and enlarged edition of the Vicar's well-known "Treatise on the Deluge" (1) issued from the press.

He has been spoken of as a good Hebrew scholar. Poetry, however, he considered to have an idle, if not an evil tendency. All "light reading" he banished from his library. A copy of old Barclay's "Ship of Fools"—which would have gladdened the heart of his book-loving brother George—he sent to his kitchen to be used as waste paper. If you visit him, writes one of his contemporaries, he conducts you into his best parlour, where are deposited his collection of minerals and fossils. "After he has explained the beauty and remarkableness of each class, the place where they were found, and how they came into his possession, he asks you, with a look of infinite satisfaction, whether all those things do not plainly prove a deluge?"

When Chatterton first came in contact with the reverend geologist is not known, but it is assumed to have been soon after the boy-poet's introduction, in 1768, to the Bristol pewterer. Writing from Bristol, in

(1) "This work is framed on the principles of Hutchinson, and contains what the author considers a full explanation of the Scripture history of the flood." Orme's "Bibliotheca Biblica."

1769, to his relative, Mr. Stevens, of Salisbury, Chatterton vauntingly says, "In this city, my principal acquaintances are—Mr. Barrett, now writing at a vast expense an ancient and modern history of Bristol, a task more difficult than cleaning the Augean stable; many have attempted, but none succeeded in it . . . and Mr. Catcott, author of that excellent Treatise on the Deluge, and other pieces, to enumerate which would argue a supposition that you were not acquainted with the literary world. To the studies of these gentlemen I am always admitted, and they are not below asking my advice in any matter of antiquity."

The young poet not only lauded the Vicar of Temple, gave him a proclamation of Canynge and Rowley, and an account of the "Knyghte's Templar's Chyrch," but he occasionally attended the service there. "Mr. Corser, of Totterdown," writes Mr. J. Dix, "was intimately acquainted with Chatterton, and well remembers that he once met him on a Sunday morning at the gate of Temple church, when the bells were chiming for service; there being yet some time to spare, before the prayers commenced, Chatterton proposed their taking a walk together in the churchyard, which was then open to the public and laid out like a garden (2). 'Come,' said he, 'I want to read you something I have just written,' and when arrived at a secluded spot, he read to Mr. Corser a treatise on Astronomy, and stated that he had not yet finished it, but that he intended to make it the subject of a poem," which, under the title of "The Copernican System," soon afterwards appeared in the *Town and Country Magazine*, with the date, "Bristol, December 23, 1769." The poem closes with this couplet:—

These are Thy wondrous works, first Source of good !
Now more admired in being understood.

But in the relations between the unimpassioned philosopher, who professed to despise poetry, and the "wondrous boy" of whom a brother-bard writes—

To him alone in this benighted age
Was that diviner inspiration given
Which glows in Milton's, and in Shakspeare's page,
The pomp and prodigality of heaven !

there was no foundation for permanent friendship.

(2) In 1743, when Rocque's large "Plan of the City of Bristol" was published, *two* double rows of trees graced Temple Churchyard, one row extended from E. to W., the other from S.E. to S.W. See also the plan (dated 1780) prefixed to Barrett's Bristol.

"Poor Hickey, ruined by his fine survey,
Perpetuates *Elton* in the saving lay."

Chatterton's "Kew Gardens."

Hickey was the publisher of Rocque's "fine survey," which is dedicated to the Right Worshipful Sir Abraham Elton, Bart., Mayor, the Worshipful Recorder, Aldermen," &c., &c., of the City of Bristol.

Before the end of 1769—that is, when Chatterton was seventeen years of age—the Vicar and the poet came into collision. The former, having done Chatterton “the honour to criticise his trifles,” the young satirist, in “an effort of poetical vengeance,” addressed a rhyming “Epistle” to his reverend censor, dated December 6th, 1769, beginning thus:—

What strange infatuations rule mankind !
How narrow are our prospects, how confined !
With universal vanity possessed,
We fondly think our own ideas best ;
Our tott' ring arguments are ever strong ;
We're always self-sufficient in the wrong.

After a review of the pride and dogmatism of philosophic sages in general, the reverend geologist is pictured showing his collection of minerals and fossils to an assembly of “wondering cits” and fair philosophers:—

The ladies are quite ravished as he tells
The short adventures of the pretty shells ;
Miss Biddy sickens to indulge her touch ;
Madame, more prudent, thinks 'twould be too much.

Where is the priestly soul of Catcott now ?
See what a triumph sits upon his brow !
And can the poor applause of things like these,
Whose souls and sentiments are all disease,
Raise little triumph in a man like you,
Catcott, the foremost of the judging few ?

The Epistle, which consists of two hundred and seventy lines, exemplifies the truth of Chatterton's assertion in “Kew Gardens,” where he says:—

When raving in the lunacy of ink,
I catch my pen and publish what I think.

By the unscrupulous ridicule of the rhyming Epistle, which he sent to the Vicar, the friendly intercourse that had subsisted between the philosopher and poet was brought to an abrupt conclusion. Chatterton, however, in his later satire, entitled “The Exhibition,” introduces the Vicar, and deals with him in terms still freer than in the Epistle. In the “Exhibition,” too, the Rev. T. Broughton, “Prebendary of Salisbury, rector of Stepington, Herts, vicar of Bedminster,” vicar of Redcliff, &c., &c. (see inscription on his marble tablet in Redcliff church), is not forgotten. Of the rev. pluralist—who appears to be the only person connected with Redcliff church who failed to win the poet's regard—he says:—

Hell gave us Broughton and Heav'n gave us Price
That one's devotion, so had God decreed,
Should counteract the other's evil deed.

And closes the forty lines devoted to him with

Enough of Broughton—Price now sweeps along
Rich with the flatt'ry of celestial song.

("Price" was the Rev. John Price, of St. James's, previously Vicar of Temple, whom Catcott succeeded.)

"From repeated allusions in Chatterton's satires," writes Dr. Wilson, "it is obvious that, in spite of all the fond associations of Redcliff church, its preacher and preaching were alike distasteful to him; and the appointment of Mr. Catcott to the vicarage of the adjoining parish, in 1767, probably helped, ere long, to induce his withdrawal from it."

It must be understood that there is no reason to suppose that the wild effusions of the creator of the Rowley Poems, "when revelling in the lunacy of ink," were ever intended by him for publication. "We cannot indeed imagine," says Dr. Wilson, "he thought it (the Epistle to the Rev. Mr. Catcott) worth preserving. But probably it was handed to his brother in confirmation of opinions freely expressed as to his graceless *protégé*, and the less sensitive pewterer added the satire to his literary hoard." It was first printed in the Supplement to Chatterton's *Miscellanies*, 1784, and is contained in Professor W. W. Skeat's edition of Chatterton's "Poetical Works," 1875, Vol. I., pages 66-79. Chatterton's own copy of "Catcott on the Deluge," with the Epistle in the poet's autograph, was, a few years ago, "bought at a little village public-house in the neighbourhood of Oxford." (1)

In these scoffing effusions Chatterton condescended to the debased taste of the free-thinking, free-speaking age in which he lived, when Parson Churchill was the model satirist, Jack Wilkes the political hero, and impure novels had a place in the family library. (2)

But in his Rowley Poems Chatterton lived in an earlier and purer world of his fancy's creation; moved amongst Carpenter the good bishop, Canynge the merchant, and Rowley the poet-priest, and comported himself accordingly.

When the controversy relating to the Rowley Poems was raging, Chatterton's Bristol associates were canvassed for their opinion as to the Colston-boy being their author. All of them resented recognition of the lad's creative genius. Even his so-called "bosom friend," William Bradford Smith, when talking with his nephew, Richard Smith, surgeon, on the subject, thus delivered his opinion—"What, sir! he write Rowley? No! no! no! I knew him well. Tom was a clever fellow, but he could not write Rowley—there was a mystery about the poems beyond me; but Tom no more wrote them than I did. He could not!" So said Tom's school-master, so said prosy Barrett the historian, so said Catcott the pewterer, Thistlethwaite the satirist, Eagles the merchant, Cary the clerk, Capel the jeweller, Clayfield the distiller; and Tom's other Bristol acquaintances joined the chorus with "And so say all of us."

(1) "Notes and Queries," 2nd Series, vi. 182-3.

(2) It has become an established principle of criticism that, in judging a man we must take into account the age in which he lived, and which was as truly a part of him as he of it. Hon. J. Russell Lowell, on "fielding," Sept. 4, 1883.

No; not all of Chatterton's Bristol friends were incapable of appreciating his intellectual endowments. Among them was one—and only one—who had formed a true estimate of the poet's creative powers—and he enunciated his opinion before the boy-poet had become celebrated)—and that was the Rev. Alexander Catcott. "I have frequently heard my brother say," writes G. S. Catcott, "he [Chatterton] was capable of writing anything attributed to Rowley, and that he was, upon the whole, the most extraordinary genius he had ever met with."

From this it appears that Chatterton's satirical "Epistle" to the Vicar of Temple did not bias him in estimating the writer's intellectual capabilities, nor deter that good man from expressing his opinion in the presence of his unbelieving brother, who, for years, with pen and tongue, vainly laboured in trying to prove Chatterton incapable of writing the so-called Rowley Poems, which, we now know, had no other origin than the fertile brain of Chatterton.

The Rev. A. Catcott's amiable character was not unnoticed or unrecorded by Chatterton: four months before he was buried by strangers, in a pauper's grave, in London, he wrote of the "Treatise on the Deluge" and its author:—

If Catcott's flimsy system can't be proved,
Let him alone—for *Catcott's much beloved*.

CHATTERTON'S BALLAD OF CHARITY.

THE "Ballad of Charity" was Chatterton's last known production of Rowley romance. Seven weeks before his death the boy-poet sent the Ballad, "as wroten by the gode Prieste Thomas Rowley, 1464," to Hamilton, the printer of *The Town and Country Magazine*. It was rejected, and the manuscript not returned. Tyrwhitt obtained Chatterton's manuscript from Hamilton, and printed the "Ballad" in his edition of the Rowley Poems, first published in 1777—seven years after Chatterton's death.

The poems that Chatterton attributed to "the gode Prieste" Rowley, are, remarks Sir Walter Scott, in poetical power and diction, incalculably superior to those which the bard of Bristol owned as his own composition. The "Ballad of Charity," though the latest, is not the least beautiful of his Rowley creations. A hundred years ago, even Dean Milles, the dullest, but not the kindest of Chatterton's critics—"An owl," Coleridge calls him, "who mangled a poor dead nightingale"—praised it for its keen satire, excellent morality, and wonderful dignity of expression. Sir Walter Scott copied two of the stanzas (second and fifth) for the "beautiful description of a landscape overshadowed by a thunderstorm" they contain.

In an able critique on Keats, in a recent number of *The Athenæum* (Feb. 23rd, 1884), Chatterton and his Ballad are thus spoken of:—"The truth is that when poetry is considered as a fine art the perfection of Keats's odes becomes so astonishing that it is difficult to think of him save as a classic artist. As regards English poetry at least, in no other poet—save, perhaps, in Chatterton, as shown in his 'Ballad of Charity,'—was the instinct of the poet as a mere artist so strong as in Keats."

The eulogy of *The Athenæum* has induced me to reprint the Ballad. The spurious old English with which Chatterton masked his Rowley poems has deterred a large number from reading them. Many of these orthographical disguises Professor W. W. Skeat, in his carefully edited and copiously annotated Aldine edition of the poet's works, has cleared away, and printed the poems, as far as rhyme and rhythm would admit, in modern English. "The finest of the Rowley poems," writes Dante Gabriel Rossetti, "rank absolutely with the finest poetry in our language, and gain (not lose) by modernisation." This being so, the "Ballad" as modernised by Professor Skeat, is here reprinted. The glossarial foot-notes are selected from the Aldine "Chatterton," and other sources given within parentheses.

Perhaps it is not known to all of my readers that the earliest of Chatterton's Rowley fictions—which so sorely puzzled Barrett, Catcott, and other Bristol Dryasdusts—first appeared in print in the columns of *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal*; which venerable Bristol newspaper, as an incorporated portion of the *Times and Mirror*, still flourishes. Chatterton, in his "Will," mentions the printer of *Felix Farley*. To the same newspaper he contributed the last poem, in modern English, known to have been printed in Bristol during his lifetime.

AN EXCELENTE BALADE OF CHARITIE.

[Reprinted from the Aldine edition of Chatterton's Works.]

I.

In Virgo now the sultry sun did sheene (1),
And hot upon the meads did cast his ray;
The apple reddened from its paly green,
And the soft pear did bend the leafy spray;
The pied chelandry (2) sang the livelong day;
'Twas now the pride, the manhood of the year,
And eke the ground was decked in its most deft aumere (3).

II.

The sun was glcaming in the midst of day,
Dead-still the air, and eke the welkin blue,
When from the sea arose in drear array
A heap of clouds of sable sullen hue,
The which full fast unto the woodland drew,
Hiding at once the sunnès festive face,
And the black tempest swelled, and gathered up apace.

III.

Beneath a holm, fast by a pathway-side,
Which did unto Saint Godwin's convent lead,
A hapless pilgrim moaning did abide,
Poor in his view, ungente in his weed (4),
Long brimful of the miseries of need.
Where from the hailstorm could the beggar fly?
He had no houses there, nor any convent nigh.

IV.

Look in his gloomèd (5) face, his sprite there scan;
How woe-begone, how withered, dwindled, dead!
Haste to thy church-glebe-house (6), accursed man!
Haste to thy shroud, thy only sleeping bed.
Cold as the clay which will grow on thy head
Are Charity and Love among high elves;
For knights and barons live for pleasure and themselves (7).

(1) "Sheen"—shine.

(2) "Chelandry"—pied goldfinch (Chatterton); a goldfinch, a kind of lark (Ash).

(3) "Aumere"—a loose robe or mantle (Chatterton); apparel (Skeat).

(4) "Weed"—a garment, or suit of clothes; still used for a friar's habit, a widow's veil, &c. (Kersey's "Dictionary," 1721).

(5) "Gloomèd"—clouded, dejected (Chatterton).

(6) "Church-glebe-house"—the grave (Chatterton); church-yard-house (Wilson).

(7) Chatterton is probably describing *himself* here (Skeat).

"An excelento
Balade of
Charitie."

A gathering
storm.

The hapless
Pilgrim.

V.

The gathered storm is ripe; the big drops fall,
 The sun-burnt meadows smoke, and drink the rain;
 The coming ghastness (8) doth the cattle 'pall (9),
 And the full flocks are driving o'er the plain;
 Dashed from the clouds, the waters fly again;
 The welkin epos; the yellow lightning flies.
 And the hot fiery steam in the wide flashings dies.

The storm
 breaks.

VI.

List! now the thunder's rattling noisy sound
 Moves slowly on, and then full-swollen clangs,
 Shakes the high spire, and lost, expended, drowned,
 Still on the frightened ear of terror hangs;
 The winds are up; the lofty elmtree swangs;
 Again the lightning, and the thunder pours,
 And the full clouds are burst at once in stony showers.

VII.

Spurring his palfrey o'er the watery plain,
 The Abbot of Saint Godwin's convent came;
 His chapournette (10) was drenched with the rain,
 His painted girdle met with mickle shame;
 He aynewarde told his bederoll (11) at the same;
 The storm increases, and he drew aside,
 With the poor alms-crauer near to the holm to bide.

The Abbot of
 St. Godwin's.

VIII.

His cope was all of Lincoln cloth so fine,
 With a gold button fastened near his chin,
 His autremete (12) was edged with golden twine,
 And his shee's peak a noble's might have been;
 Full well it shewed he thought cest no sin.
 The trammels of his palfrey pleased his sight,
 For the horse-milliner (13) his head with roses dight.

(8) "Ghastness"—ghastliness, gloom; a fine word, but lacking authority (Skeat.)

(9) "'Pall"—appall.

(10) "Chapournette"—a small round hat, not unlike the shapournette in heraldry, formerly worn by Ecclesiastics and Lawyers (Chatterton).

(11) "He aynewarde told his bederoll"—He told his beads backwards; a figurative expression to signify cursing (Chatterton); *ayenward*—back again (Kersey's "Dictionary," 1721).

(12) "Autremete"—a loose white robe, worn by priests (Chatterton); *autremite*, a kind of vestment (Kersey's "Dictionary," 1721).

(13) "Horse-milliner"—certainly not a fifteenth-century word (Skeat). George Stevens, the commentator on Shakespeare, saw the word in 1776 over a eadler's shop-door in Bristol. Outside was a wooden horse fancifully dressed with ribbons, to explain the nature of "horse-millinery." Hence the origin of the modern word Chatterton has used in his "1464" poem. Chatterton's expression "horse-milliner" has been revived by Sir Walter Scott:—

"One comes in foreign trashery
 Of tinkling chain and spur,
 A walking haberdashery
 Of feathers, lace, and fur;
 In Rowley's antiquated phrase,
 Horse-milliner of modern days,
 —'Bridal of Triermain,' ii. 3.

IX.

"An alms, sir priest!" the drooping pilgrim said,
 "Oh! let me wait within your convent door,
 Till the sun shineth high above our head,
 And the loud tempest of the air is o'er.
 Helpless and old am I, alas! and poor.
 No house, no friend, nor money in my pouch,
 All that I call my own is this my silver crouche (14)."

X.

"Varlet!" replied the Abbot, "cease your din;
 This is no season alms and prayers to give,
 My porter never lets a beggar in;
 None touch my ring (15) who not in honour live."
 And now the sun with the black clouds did strive,
 And shot upon the ground his glaring ray;
 The Abbot epurred his steed, and eftsoons rode away.

XI.

Once more the sky was black, the thunder rolled,
 Fast running o'er the plain a priest was seen;
 Not dight full proud, nor buttoned up in gold,
 His cope and jape (16) were grey, and eke were clean;
 A limitor (17) he was of order seen;
 And from the pathway side then turned he,
 Where the poor beggar lay beneath the holmen tree.

XII.

"An alms, sir priest!" the drooping pilgrim said,
 "For sweet Saint Mary and your order's sake."
 The Limitor then loosened his pouch-thread,
 And did thereout a groat of silver take;
 The needy pilgrim did for gladness shake;
 "Here take this silver, it may ease thy care,
 We are God's stewards all; nought of our own we bear.

XIII.

"But ah! unhappy pilgrim, learn of me.
 Scarce any give a rentroll to their lord;
 Here, take my semicope (18), thou'rt bare, I see;
 'Tis thine; the saints will give me my reward."
 He left the pilgrim, and his way aborde (19).
 Virgin and holy Saints, who sit in gloure (20),
 Or give the mighty will, or give the good man power!

(14) "Crouche"—a cross, crucifix.

(15) "Ring"—door-handle, probably (Wilson).

(16) "Jape"—a short surplice, worn by friars of an inferior class, and secular priests (Chatterton). But where does it occur? (Skeat).

(17) "Limitor"—a licensed begging friar, who begged within a particular limit, or district (Skeat).

(18) "Semicope"—a half cope, short cape or cloak (Skeat).

(19) "His way aborde"—went on his way; but there is no such word as *aborde* in any such sense (Skeat).

(20) "Gloure"—an unauthorised spelling of *glory* (Skeat).

The storm
returns.

A good
Samaritan.

